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might be safely tried by them if they had no relations and no responsibilities to other nations. But they have such responsibilities, and very great ones, too. And here is where the fatal defect of Judge Baldwin's suggested scheme is found.

An Anglo-American tribunal erected as proposed within the Hague Court would be a long step backward toward the earlier tentative methods of arbitration. It would probably wreck the Court. For the two nations themselves the Court would no longer have any reason for existence. Their permanent board of five arbitrators might just as well be appointed from among eminent jurists not in the Court at all. The three Anglo-Saxon members not chosen for the Anglo-American tribunal for any five years would be nothing more than useless lumber. The other nations would, under the circumstances, certainly not select them — as they would not select the five chosen — to arbitrate their disputes, either those among themselves or those with England and the United States. They would be, further, so offended by the assumption of superiority on the part of the two English-speaking countries, — as they would have a right to be, now that the United States and England have united with them in setting up the Hague Court, — that they would either withdraw entirely from the Convention of 1899 or would form special combinations of their own members in the Court. The result would be thoroughly to disunite and discredit the Court and probably to drive it out of existence.

One of the greatest future blessings of the permanent international tribunal is to be its potent influence in working out an improved and uniform judicial system for the entire world. Such a system is now a necessity. If the United States and Great Britain have any superiority in their judicial practices, they ought for this very reason to maintain such close and amicable relations in the Hague Court with the other powers as will make them most influential in perfecting the general judicial order of the nations, individually and collectively.

The history of the great cases of arbitration which these countries have had with each other — the Alabama case, the Behring Sea Sealing case and others — in the last century leaves no ground to fear that their controversies hereafter cannot safely be entrusted to jurists of other nationalities. It will always be possible, in the case of any dispute whatever between them, to find among the sixty-four members of the Hague Court who are from non-English-speaking countries, men of the most eminent fitness to tell them fully and impartially where truth and justice lie.

A cablegram from The Hague says that administrators have been appointed to have charge of the Peace Palace which is to be erected at the expense of Andrew Carnegie.

Tenth Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.

The tenth Conference on International Arbitration held by Albert K. Smiley at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., on the first three days of June, was not only most interesting in itself but also as an index of the recent extraordinary growth of public interest in the subject. When the first of these conferences was held in 1895 there was an attendance of only sixty-five persons, and the most of those who came might truthfully have adopted for themselves the prayer, "Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief."

This year there was an attendance of nearly three hundred, or almost five times as many as at the first Conference. Indeed, the acceptances of Mr. Smiley's generous invitations were so numerous that the Mountain House, commodious as it is, was, with its incoming regular guests, dangerously near to overflowing. Among those present there were of course many who had come for the first time, attracted possibly in part by the far-famed glory of Mohonk, but also induced to come by the commanding position which the arbitration movement has now attained.

Distinguished as the personnel of the previous conferences had been, this tenth meeting surpassed them all in this respect. Two members of the Hague Court were present, Hon. George Gray, the Chairman, and Senator J. H. Gamboa of Mexico; ten judges of the Federal and State courts, including Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court and four justices of State Supreme Courts; several members and ex-members of Congress; two members of the State Department; fifteen presidents of colleges and other educational institutions; more than forty prominent business men from different parts of the United States, including representatives of several of the great city Chambers of Commerce; and many well-known clergymen. Of foreigners, besides Senator Gamboa of Mexico, there were Chevalier Agnoli, Italian member of the Venezuelan-Italian Claims Commission, Mr. Uchida, Japanese Consul-General at New York, Baron Kaneko, former member of the Japanese Cabinet, and Mr. Yung Wing, formerly Associate Chinese Ambassador at Washington.

The speaking was on the whole of a high order. It would not be easy to make choice among the excellent addresses of Judge Gray, Edward Everett Hale, Hon. William L. Penfield, Hon. Jackson A. Ralston, Hon. Charles M. Pepper, Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Prof. John Bassett Moore, Justice Brewer, Henry B. F. Macfarland, Robert Lansing, Charles Fleischer, Samuel B. Capen, and others whose addresses were shorter but full of pith and interest.

One of the most interesting sessions of the Conference was that given up to the business aspects of arbitration. The Business Committee had turned

over to the business men present the preparation of the program for this special session. In five-minute speeches, carefully prepared and several of them written, more than a dozen men prominent in business organizations gave their views of the subject before the Conference. It was on the whole as interesting and inspiring a meeting as has ever been held at Mohonk. Some of the speeches were moderate and conservative in character, and some of them strongly radical. But they all indicated clearly that business men, if they can only be gotten out of the somewhat narrow and confining circles of purely business interests, constitute a natural and positive force for peace capable of exercising an enormous influence against war.

The Mohonk Conference has never gone much into discussion of the obstacles to arbitration, particularly the obstacle created by the great and growing armaments of the world. There was more reference to the subject this year than usual, and many of those present felt that, however difficult and delicate it may be, the Conference must ultimately deal with it openly and frankly if it would accomplish most effectively the task which it has set for itself.

The war in the Far East did not produce any disturbance in the Conference. The rule adopted that there should be no partisan reference to the conflict was found to be hardly necessary. There was a general feeling of deep regret among those present that the two nations, towards both of whom Americans entertain most friendly sentiments, had not been able to avoid the cruel and ruinous arbitrament of war. The distinguished Japanese gentlemen who were present were received with the utmost cordiality; so would a Russian delegation have been welcomed if it had come.

The discussion by Mr. Penfield and others of the Venezuelan Arbitration before the Hague Court, by Mr. Lansing of the Alaska boundary settlement and by Mr. Ralston of the work of the Venezuela Claims Commissions, was most illuminating. The Conference felt that the peaceful settlement by arbitration of these and other difficulties, and the conclusion of so many special treaties of obligatory arbitration between the nations of Western Europe constituted a very great advance over the progress of previous years and gave hope for the future.

The Platform adopted on the last day, which we give in full below, shows that the Conference considerably enlarged its program of former sessions. It gave its chief attention, to be sure, to arbitration, to the strengthening of the Hague Court, to the promotion of further special treaties like those negotiated in Western Europe the past year, to the deepening and widening of public opinion in favor of this pacific principle. It urged especially treaties between our own country and others. But it also gave its hearty and unanimous support to the move-

ment inaugurated last year through the Massachusetts Legislature for a regular advisory Congress, meeting at stated periods, of official representatives of the governments of the world, to confer and make recommendations upon matters of common interest to the nations. It declared such a congress to be the natural complement and auxiliary of the International Court of Arbitration.

On the last day the following telegram from President Roosevelt was received by Judge Gray and read to the Conference:

"Permit me, through you, to congratulate the International Arbitration Conference and to express my earnest hope for the success of all efforts of this kind to promote peace and justice among the nations."

To this a reply was sent expressing appreciation of the President's interest in the work of the Conference, and pledging earnest support of all efforts of our government to secure the conclusion of arbitration treaties with other countries.

Platform of the Tenth Mohonk International Arbitration Conference.

With unabated confidence in the cause of international arbitration this Conference renews its allegiance to the principles involved, and continues its efforts to promote them.

Each year marks distinct progress towards the attainment of the beneficent ends proposed. This progress has been along the lines of natural growth and development.

With great gratification we record the fact that eleven nations — five of them ranking among the great powers — have appeared before the Court at the Hague and submitted their controversies to its adjudication. This has been done in the same orderly and judicial manner as that which obtains in our ordinary courts of justice where disputes between individuals are decided. In either class of cases one party or the other is likely to be disappointed with the result, but it is accepted as the only rational and civilized substitute for a direct settlement between the parties themselves. We confidently rely upon the irresistible power of public opinion to give effectual sanction to the judgments of the arbitral tribunal and to extend the scope of its jurisdiction.

We rejoice that the increasing development of commercial communications between countries tends to the advancement of universal peace. This Conference is more than ever conscious of the profoundly vital and important nature of the work in which it is coöperating.

Arbitration is not sought as an end in itself, but as a necessary means to the attainment of the great ends of international justice. It is not intended to be merely an easier and cheaper way of overreaching a rival or getting the better of an enemy. It recognizes the equally sacred